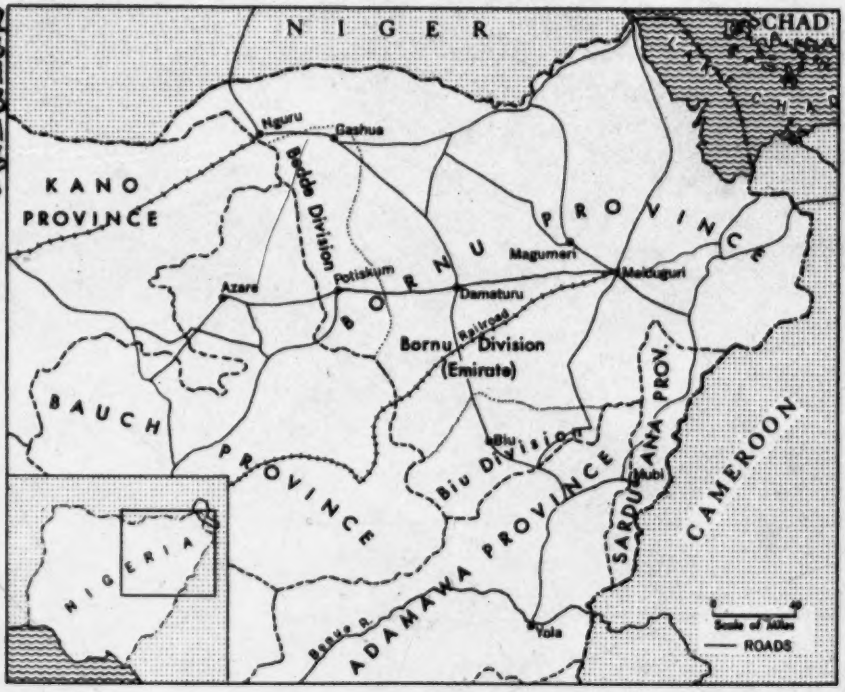
1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



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living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry, buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos, it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges. This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish, too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia. Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

634 692 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to operate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of

178 648 • 63 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 178 625 698 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly in the following example describing the functioning of the police in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of [661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[48] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from Jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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